

not ashamed of such tyranny, so much the worse for its soul. But why should I co-operate in its tyranny? By acknowledging and accepting it, I became a party to it and shared in its guilt. I decided to "Non-co-operate".

Under the force of this conviction I went to the Governor of the Prison and told him that henceforth I did not intend even to pretend to obey the inhuman Regulations of the Prison System. I went back to the workshop and talked openly with my fellow-prisoners before the warder's eyes. The Authorities retorted by keeping me in separate confinement for eleven months only allowing me out of my cell for one hour every day, when I was permitted to walk about the empty prison yard. Despite this seeming privation, and despite the fact that I was put on bread and water diet for three months, I felt much happier and freer during this time than I had before, because my mind and soul were free. They were not bowing to the tyranny imposed upon them. They were erect.

During these months of seclusion I tried to apply this philosophy to the social and racial problems of life in which I am interested. My fellow Socialists had often told me that the new social order which we desire to see established can only be brought into being by violence and bloodshed. The new conception of resistance which opened

before my mind showed the alternative way. If the workers of the world became determined in their own minds no longer to accept the tyranny of Capitalism, if they prepare themselves, and organise on the land, and in their workshops and factories and mines, to take over the control of industry, the capitalists and landlords will be helpless and no armed force can prevent them from transforming society as they desire. They have only to say : " we decline any longer to work under the old system : we intend now to begin the new system " and they can step from the one to the other forthwith. If they adopt this attitude absolutely nothing can stand in their way. All that is required is solidarity and resolution.

Similarly, a race which is suffering from the oppression of an alien conqueror could win its freedom without any resort to force or armed violence. First, the people themselves must become convinced of the necessity for freedom, and, that accomplished, they must decline any longer to co-operate in the administration of the foreign power. Instead, they must build up their own State within the State of those who have arrogated the *role* of rulers. Before long, if the people are united, the external State must crumble to pieces as the inner State grows to fullness. The alien Government may have enormous armies, machine-

guns, tanks, poison gas, aeroplanes and bombs, but even by the most remorseless use of them it could never defeat resistance of this character. It may kill, but the very dead, (as do the dead of Amritsar) will work for its overthrow.

The appreciation of this truth, led me, when I came out of prison, to study the application of the principle of Non-Co-operation. I found, to my surprise, that it had been embodied 70 years ago in the resistance of the Hungarian people to Austrian autocracy. I found, too, that it was being applied in Ireland, in Egypt, in Korea, and in India before my very eyes.

In Ireland, it seems to me, the full value of the new policy has been destroyed by the acts of violence and bloodshed which have accompanied it. India, I believe, is destined to work it out in its fullest sense.

Mr. Gandhi appears to me to be the greatest figure of this age. He is pointing, not merely for India, but for all mankind, the bloodless way to liberty. I trust that the Indian people will be worthy of him. Despite all provocations on the part of the British authorities, let them resist every temptation to resort to violence, understanding that a nation which is free in mind and in spirit can by acts of the mind and spirit liberate itself from every external bondage also.

In conclusion, I desire to make clear that little originality is claimed for this book. It is very closely based upon the standard works on the subjects dealt with. During the visit of Mr. V. J. Patel to England in 1920 he caused some of these works to be collected for the purpose of obtaining information of service to the Indian National Congress. I desire, therefore, to acknowledge my indebtedness to him in this respect.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY.

London, Feb. 16, 1921.

NON-CO-OPERATION

IN OTHER LANDS

THE CLASSIC CASE OF HUNGARY

CHAPTER I

NON-CO-OPERATION is not a new policy. It was adopted by the Hungarian Nation in its great struggle to free itself from Austrian domination during the last century. It has since been adopted in Ireland, in Egypt, and in Korea. In view of the decision of the Indian National Congress, it will be of interest to describe the development of Non-Co-operation where the policy has already been adopted.

We take Hungary first, for Hungary is the classic case of Non-Co-operation. It was the success of the Non-Co-operation Movement in Hungary which led Mr. Arthur Griffith to urge the adoption of a similar policy in Ireland. He has told the story in detail in his book, "The Resurrection of Hungary." The following summary is almost entirely based on his work:—

Two hundred years ago the peoples of Austria

and Hungary, having together freed their territories from invaders, agreed to unite under one monarchy. The terms of the treaty laid it down that they should be "free and equal Nations," but the Court was at Vienna and the Hungarian Aristocracy attending it rapidly became denationalised. The Austrian Emperors took advantage of their lack of patriotism progressively to ignore Hungary's rights. When a secret conspiracy against Austria's domination was discovered, the Leaders were executed and Hungary made subservient.

A few idealists, however, kept alive the idea of "Hungary, a Nation," and, when the Emperor ordered a levy of troops, they led the people in a refusal to recognise his authority. "Our Diet (Parliament) alone has the power to levy troops," they said. After a struggle of five years, the Emperor gave way and the election of a Diet was ordered.

The opening of the Diet of 1833 was marked by an incident which set the feelings of the Hungarian people aflame. Count Szechenyi, a rich young Noble, dared to address the Assembly in the Hungarian language! His colleagues (denationalised by their contact with Vienna) remonstrated with him, putting down his indiscretion to an impulse of youth (he was only 34): but on the next occasion he coolly repeated the offence! The

scene as described by Mr. Arthur Griffith is worth-quoting :—

“For a moment the young Noble stood silent in the centre of the House. Then, fixing his eyes on the Leader of his advisers, he opened his mouth, and lo! out of it slowly rolled Hungarian Periods. As the astonished and deceived Nobles sat spell-bound, his voice rose and rang and swelled with passion and triumph and exultation through the Chamber, chanting, in the despised tongue of the Nation, the story of Hungary’s woe, and foretelling her resurrection. When he ceased, the old men sat dazed, but many of the younger Nobles, stirred in their hearts, stricken in their consciences, sent up a shout of applause.”

A great wave of enthusiasm passed through the people in support of Szechenyi, but he declined to become a Political Leader. He concentrated upon reviving the education, the literature, the agriculture, and industry of Hungary. He founded the National Academy of Science, which is still a celebrated centre of Learning.

The Political Leaders were Francis Deak, a Catholic Landowner, and Louis Kossuth, a Protestant Barrister. Deak’s spirit may be judged by his reply to the Moderates, who urged caution. “What can we do?” said the Moderates. “We cannot fight Austria with the sword—what, then, is

there left but to submit and make the best of the situation?"

"Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed!" Deak exclaimed in response: "Woe—woe to the Nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The Nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed."

The Nationalists in the Diet of 1836 made a determined demand for a Scheme of National Education but the Austrian Government would not hear of it. The refusal was as valuable to the Nationalists as consent would have been. Kossuth published lithographed reports of the debates, and by circulating them throughout the country aroused wide popular support. Indeed, the effect of this propaganda was so great that the Government attempted of bribe Kossuth into silence by offering him a post. He indignantly rejected it.

Having failed to corrupt, the Austrian Government proceeded to coerce. It arrested Szechenyi, Kossuth, Wesselyeni (a sympathetic Noble), and John Balogh, a Member of the Diet, and sentenced them to several years' imprisonment. A new election was ordered in Balogh's Constituency, with the result that he was re-elected by a sweeping majority?

Two years passed before the Diet met. Its first act was to demand the release of Kossuth and his companions. "Certainly," said the Government, "if you will moderate your policy."

"No," said Deak, nobly. "Our duty to our country is greater and holier even than sympathy for our friends. Liberty gained at such a price would be more painful to them than all their sufferings."

When the Government saw that it could do nothing to cause Deak to compromise, it gave way. Kossuth and his comrades were released.

Kossuth forthwith proceeded to organise Press propaganda on a wider scale than ever. His *Pesth Gazette* became the dominant influence in Hungary. Whenever they were in doubt the people asked, "What does Louis Kossuth say?" What Louis Kossuth said, they echoed.

The Nationalists now concentrated upon a two-fold demand:—(1) equality of taxation with the Austrians, and (2) the Official recognition of the Hungarian language. The latter they won, but the Government would not concede equality of taxation. Of what value is a subject-Nation if not to exploit?

Kossuth retorted by founding the Hungarian League of Industry and Commerce, with the object of developing Hungarian Industry at the expense

of Austrian. It proved a serious menace to the Austrian Ruling Class, and its suppression was soon ordered by the Government. When fifty-five Hungarian County Councils rallied to the League despite the order of suppression, the Government deposed their Chairmen and appointed Austrian Officials in their places. It could hardly have taken any step more pleasing to Kossuth.

The one class in Hungary which had not so far been united in the Nationalist Movement was that of the Nobles. They had remained under the influence of the Court. But Kossuth had succeeded in securing their support for the League of Industry and Commerce—that was to the advantage of their agricultural enterprises—and in their official capacity as Chairmen of the County Councils they gave it their fullest aid. The consequence, as we have seen, was deposition: how could they accept this affront?

Kossuth challenged them boldly. "Now, Nobles of Hungary, will ye be men?" he cried. The response was immediate. Scores of Nobles allied themselves with Kossuth, many of them consenting to renounce their feudal privileges.

The subsequent election of 1847 was memorable for the contest in Pesth, a constituency which the Austrians prided as "loyal." Kossuth fought it, and, despite widespread corruption and intimidation,

tion, Kossuth won. He was master of the new Diet.

The Diet demanded the restoration of Hungary's independence. With the knowledge that a united and determined people stood behind the demand, the Austrian Government could do nothing but yield. Emperor Ferdinand came to Hungary and agreed to the claim of the Nation.

Thus it came about that the Constitution of 1848 was written. A Hungarian Government, sovereign in Hungary, and responsible to the Hungarian people, was established. Szechenyi was Minister of Public Works, Deak was Minister of Justice, and Kossuth Minister of Finance. The victory seemed to be won; the people gave themselves up to cheering. But quickly they found that they had cheered too soon.

A Court camarilla in Vienna had determined that there should be no independent Hungary. It secretly inspired the Wallachians, Serbians, and Croats to attack the Hungarians, confident that the result would be an appeal to Austria to renew her sovereignty. But the new Hungarian Army, filled with ardent zeal, defeated the invaders.

Having failed in this direction the Court attempted to gain its end by other means. The Emperor Ferdinand nominated Count Lemberg as the new Viceroy of Hungary and attempted to revoke the

Constitution. The reply of the Diet was sharp and definite, It declined to recognise Lemberg, and declared anyone who gave him "aid, comfort, or advice" to be an enemy of the State. Lemberg, ignoring the popular indignation, persisted in going to Buda-Pesth to apply the new policy. He arrived and was assassinated.

The Emperor then had the audacity to nominate the Croatian Chieftain, Jellachich, as Lord Lieutenant—the Chieftain who had recently led his soldiers against Hungary! Anticipating opposition, the Emperor ordered the Austrian Grenadiers to march on Buda-Pesth. The Hungarian Diet did not waver.

Indeed, it made the mistake of military aggression: Kossuth persuaded it to send military aid to some revolutionists who had raised the banner of revolt in Vienna. The Hungarians and Revolutionists were defeated, and the Austrian General, Windischgratz, entered Buda-Pesth.

For some time, owing to the military genius of Arthur Georgei, the Hungarians repulsed the Austrians in the field, but when the Russians joined the invaders defeat became inevitable. Georgei surrendered, and Austria was once more supreme.

The Constitution was scorned, the Diet was suppressed, the National Institutions were des-

troyed, the Language was banned, the County Councils were dissolved, the Country was parcelled out into Military Districts under Austrian Officers, and the name of Hungary was erased from the map of Europe.

“Hungary is dead,” said the Statesmen of Europe. But, remarks Mr. Arthur Griffith, Francis Deak still lived, and in him lived Hungary.

HOW FRANCIS DEAK DEFIED AUSTRIA

CHAPTER II

FOR a time Hungary seemed crushed and there were no visible signs of activity by the Nationalists. But Francis Deak still held to his ideals and in his room at Pesth a number of his admirers met regularly. Despite the absence of revolt the Austrian Government was uneasy, and it decided to offer Deak a Grand Justiciary to conciliate him and the Hungarian people. "When my country's constitution is acknowledged, I shall consider your offer," replied Deak.

The next proposal of the Austrian Government was that Deak and some representatives of Hungary should go to Vienna to discuss the Government of Hungary with the Austrian authorities. "I must beg you to excuse me," replied Deak "but I cannot negotiate with Vienna while the Hungarian Constitution is illegally suspended."

Austria then planned to destroy Hungarian Nationality by incorporating Hungary in the Germanic Confederation, so that if Hungary ever again attempted to raise her head, not only Austria, but Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and all the other States of Germany would be engaged to

HOW FRANCIS DEAK DEFIED AUSTRIA 11

swoop down on her. But France intervened and the plot was defeated.

Unable to act politically, Deak pushed ahead with Nationalist Schemes of Education and Industry. Simultaneously, Kossuth and the other Hungarian Leaders whom the Austrian Government had exiled carried on propaganda in support of Hungarian Nationalism in the countries to which they had fled. They both developed trade with Hungary and aroused sympathy with her cause.

By 1857 the progress of Hungary had become "a cause of serious apprehension to the Court of Vienna." How was the popularity of the Austrian Emperor to be revived? Bach, his first Minister, hit upon the idea of a Royal visit. "You must visit Pesth, Sire," said he to Francis Josef, and Francis Josef prepared to visit Pesth.

The Pesth papers were instructed to announce that the Emperor was coming to inaugurate a new era. They hinted that he was coming to restore the confiscated estates of the political offenders and to shower blessings on the people generally; and, therefore, the officially inspired announcement ran, he should be accorded an enthusiastic reception. But Deak remained adamant. He declared that he owed allegiance only to the King of Hungary, none to the Emperor of Austria. When Francis Josef accepted the Hungarian Constitution

and was crowned at Buda, he would recognise him ; not before, he averred.

The Emperor arrived in Pesth in May, 1857. Every device was used to regain the support of the people. There were processions, banquets, balls, fireworks, and religious celebrations. Her Majesty, the Empress visited the Convent Schools wearing an Hungarian hat and insisted on only Hungarian dances being danced before her. His Majesty, the Emperor went to the Academy and expressed his admiration of the Hungarian language. But only the Moderates were deluded.

"Let us present the Emperor with an address," they said.

"No," said Deak. "While Francis Josef violates the Constitution, Hungary cannot recognise him."

Nevertheless the Moderates persisted. They were most graciously received ; but no change was made in the administration.

In 1859 War broke out between France and Austria. Austria was defeated, and Francis Josef returned in a chastened spirit. He dismissed Bach and invited Baron Josika, a Hungarian, to become Minister for the Interior.

"Your Majesty," said Josika, "I am an Hungarian, I understand Hungarians. I do not understand Austrians. If you appoint an Austrian to govern us Hungarians, he could not govern us well

HOW FRANCIS DEAK DEFIED AUSTRIA 13.

because he is alien to us. Neither could I govern well your Austrians, since I am of a different race."

Golouchowski, a Pole, became Minister, and he and the Emperor decided to attempt to break down Hungary's isolation by inviting six Hungarians to join the Privy Council.

"What shall we do?" asked the summoned of Deak.

"Don't go," said Deak. "If Francis Josef wants to consult Hungary, let him come to Pesth and consult her through her Parliament." Whereupon three of them refused to go.

The Emperor and Golouchowski decided that their first step in the policy of conciliation should be to re-establish the County Councils, and appointed an Hungarian Royal Commission for this purpose.

The county looked to Deak. It wanted its County Councils back badly and it hoped he might find some means of accepting the Commission. But Deak was inexorable.

"Return to the Emperor of Austria your patents," he said to the Commissioners. "None but the King of Hungary can appoint a Royal Hungarian Commission."

So the Royal Commissioners returned their patents with a polite note.

At last in 1861 the Austrian Government reluctantly decided both to re-establish the County Councils and to convoke a meeting of the Hungarian Diet. The first action of the County Councils was to dismiss the Austrian Officials who had been appointed during the preceding ten years of tyranny. The second was to refuse to collect and hand over the Austrian Army rates.

Francis Josef was disconcerted. He promised Deak that he would satisfactorily settle the Hungarian question, and, to give him a chance, Deak advised the County Councils to hold their hands until the Diet met. The Emperor dismissed Goulouchowski and appointed Von Schmerling to introduce the new policy. It proved to be Home Rule all round, with an Imperial Parliament in Vienna!

Hungary received the policy with a cry of derision, insisting upon independence, and the depth of feeling was such that the election for the Diet gave Deak 270 supporters out of 300. The first act of the new Members was to refuse to meet in the Castle of Buda, whither they had been summoned. "The Constitution of 1848 fixed our meeting place in Pesth," they said, "and in Pesth we meet or not at all." The Austrians objected, but at last gave way. The result was hailed as a great National victory, since the surrender of Austria implied the recognition of the Constitution.

HOW FRANCIS DEAK DEFIED AUSTRIA 15.

On April 6 the Hungarian Parliament was opened. The Deputies went dressed in the National costume of Hungary, and when gathered in the hall, with a simultaneous impulse, they shouted the dying words of Count Louis Batthyany, the Premier of Hungary, as he fell in 1849, beneath the bullets of his Austrian executioners, "Eljen a Haza!" "My Country for Ever!"

In his message to the Diet, Francis Josef outlined a scheme by which the Hungarian Parliament should control a few domestic services, and should send representatives to an Imperial Parliament in Vienna to vote upon more important matters. The Chamber resounded with the scornful laughter of the Deputies. Deak calmed the tumult. "It is sought," he said, "to transfer to a foreign assembly sitting in the capital of a foreign country the right to make laws for ourselves and our children. Who will acquiesce? No one!"

The Diet decided to send Francis Josef an address insisting upon the independence of Hungary and telling the Emperor that if he desired to be King of Hungary he must accept the Constitution, and be crowned at Buda. The Austrian Emperor haughtily ignored this demand, and ordered the Diet to elect its representatives to the Imperial Parliament. Thereupon the Diet sent a second address to the Emperor. "A forced unity can

never make an Empire strong," declared the address, anticipating the truth now uttered by the Nationalists of India. The concluding paragraph of this address was so noble that it must be quoted in full:—

"It is possible," the address concluded, "that over our country will again pass hard times: we cannot avert them by sacrificing our duties as citizens. The Constitutional freedom of the land is not our private possession to be freely disposed of; the Nation has with faith entrusted it to our keeping, and we are answerable to our country and to our conscience. If it be necessary to suffer, the Nation will submit to suffering in order to preserve and hand down to future generations that Constitutional liberty it has inherited from its forefathers. It will suffer without losing courage, as its ancestors endured and suffered to defend the rights of the country; for what might and power take away, time and favourable circumstances may restore, but the recovery of what a Nation renounces of its own accord through fear of suffering must be a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. Hungary will suffer, hoping for a great future and trusting in the justice of its cause."

Francis Josef replied to this address by dissolving the Diet. The Deputies declined to acknowledge his act as legal, and in solemn procession marched

HOW FRANCIS DEAK DEFIED AUSTRIA 17

to the Chamber, which was occupied by Austrian soldiers, who kept them out at the bayonets' point. Deak, turning from the House, lit a cigar, walked back to his rooms, and joined a game of bowls in the garden. "What is the news?" asked his landlord "Austria," said Deak, as he knocked the Jack, "has declared war."

The Pesth County Council protested against the dissolution of the Hungarian Parliament. The Emperor thereupon ordered the Council itself to dissolve, and when it ignored the order the Austrian soldiery turned the members out by force. Every County Council throughout the land followed the example of the Council of Pesth. and shared its fate. The Council Officials refused to transfer their services to the Austrians, and Francis Josef instituted a military regime.

Deak admonished the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality. "This is the safe ground," he said, "on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering be necessary, suffer with dignity."

Meanwhile Deak walked about Pesth smoking his pipe and gathering his friends around him each night to discuss affairs in his rooms. He had given the order to the country—Resistance by every means except that of violence, and the order was obeyed.

When the Austrian Tax Collector came to gather the taxes the people did not beat him nor even hoot him—they just declined to pay. The Tax Collector thereupon called in the Austrian Police, and the Police seized the man's goods. Then the Hungarian auctioneer declined to auction them, and an Austrian auctioneer had to be introduced. When he arrived he discovered that he would have to bring bidders from Austria also if the goods were to be sold. The Government found before long that it was costing more to distrain the goods than the tax itself was worth.

The Austrians attempted to billet their soldiers upon the Hungarians. The Hungarians did not resist the decree, but the Austrian soldier, after a little experience of living in a house where everyone despised him, resisted it very strongly. Finally, when the so-called Imperial Parliament met in Vienna, no Hungarian representatives attended, and the Vienna Government became a topic of laughter throughout Europe.

"Austria can wait and win," said Schmerling.

"She can't wait half so long as we can," replied Deak.

THE TRIUMPH OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM

CHAPTER III

THE Austrian Government attempted to meet the Passive Resistance of Hungary by declaring the boycott of Austrian goods illegal. The Hungarians defied the order, with the result that the gaols were soon filled. Finding this policy fail, Francis Josef again tried the policy of conciliation. He liberated all the political prisoners and graciously made grants (out of moneys raised from the Hungarian tax-payers !) to Hungarian National Institutions.

Meanwhile, the Hungarian Deputies continued to meet. They were prevented from assembling as the Parliament of Hungary, but met as the Hungarian Agricultural Union, the Hungarian Industrial League, the Hungarian Archaeological and Literary Association, and similar bodies. Through their debates they kept the Nationalist ideal before the public, and stated their view upon each issue as it arose.

When war threatened with Prussia, Austria was compelled to approach Hungary in a reasonable spirit. Deak was asked the price of Hungary's friendship. He answered in the Easter of 1865, "the restoration of Hungary's free and national

Constitution." Rumours of a change of policy on the part of Austria spread through the land, and at the end of May an official announcement was made that the Emperor was again to visit Pesth and again to inaugurate a New Era. His visit was a repetition of what happened eight years earlier. He was delighted by the display of flags in the city—until he discovered that the flags were green, white and red tricolours, the official ensign of independence of Hungary! The only hint of any New Era was given in a promise that the Hungarian Diet should be convened at some future date.

Hungary's resolute attitude convinced Francis Josef that it would be fatal to go to war with Prussia, and he made big concessions in order to secure peace. Prussia, however, was determined on war, and it became necessary for Austria to make a serious attempt to conciliate Hungary. On September 20, 1865, a manifesto was issued announcing the abolition of the Imperial Parliament, recognising the right of Hungary as a separate nationality to manage its own affairs, and declaring the authority of the Hungarian Parliament to be restored.

"So far, so good," said Deak, "but this must not be a mock Parliament."

The former Deputies of Hungary met under Deak's Chairmanship to consider the manifesto,

TRIUMPH OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM 21

and they unanimously resolved to accept nothing less than the restoration of the Constitution of 1848. The election of Members of the new Parliament gave Deak 200 followers out of 333. The remainder were divided between the Conservatives (even this party was now pledged to an independent Parliament) and the Separatists, who wanted an independent republic.

On December 14, Francis Josef opened the Parliament, wearing an Hungarian costume and speaking in the Hungarian language. Many of the Deputies cheered but Deak sat silent throughout the speech. "There shall be no compromise," he had promised the people, and Deak was suspicious.

The Emperor's speech apparently gave everything but in reality gave little. One Deputy remarked that if His Majesty had used the same expressions five years before, he would have been thrust into gaol as a rebel, but, stripped of this unreal, Nationalistic rhetoric, all the speech promised was a subordinate Parliament for Hungary with a limited control of home affairs, an Imperial Parliament at Vienna, but no restoration of the Constitution, and no reformation of the Municipal Institutions.

Deak warned the Parliament not to give up principle for expediency, and the Deputies adopted

an Address informing the Emperor that they declined all compromise. The Emperor refused to go further than the offer in his speech. Unanimously the Parliament thereupon presented him with a second Address informing him that until he recognised the independence of the kingdom it would decline to recognise him as anything less than an enemy of Hungary. The Emperor left for Vienna !

The Hungarian Parliament continued to meet as if nothing had occurred, and acted as though the Constitution had never been suspended. Meanwhile, the War situation became more serious and and in his dire straits Francis Josef again made overtures to Deak. Deak replied that the only basis of agreement was the recognition of Hungary's national freedom. Prussia declared war upon Austria in June, 1866, and rapidly entered Prague. Francis Josef sent to Pesth for Deak. Arriving at midnight in Vienna, he was received by the Emperor, pale and haggard, in the palace. "What am I to do now, Deak?" the Emperor asked. Deak's reply is famous in Hungarian history.

"Make peace and restore Hungary her rights," he said.

"If I restore Hungary her Constitution, will she help me to carry on the war?" the Emperor inquired.

TRIUMPH OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM 23

"No," said Deak. "I will not make the restoration of my country's freedom a matter of barter."

The Emperor turned sadly away, and Deak left the palace.

Austria suffered a humiliating defeat and the Emperor asked his Ministers what he was to do to save the Empire. "Play the despot," they advised. But Francis Josef had learned by experience to be wiser than his advisers. He called Beust (an opportunist who saw that peace with Hungary was essential) to his Ministry, but he retained Belcredi as Prime Minister.

On November 19, 1866, the Emperor addressed a further communication to the Hungarian Parliament intimating his desire to appoint a responsible Ministry in Hungary. Deak mistrusted the tone of the letter, and so did the people of Hungary. Beust hurried to Pesth and interviewed Deak. The two men came to an unwritten understanding. Beust undertook to try to overthrow Belcredi and thus prepare the way for the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution, and Deak undertook to prevent any uprising in Hungary which would play into Belcredi's hands.

At the same time, Deak maintained an unyielding attitude. On December 15, 1866, Parliament sent Francis Josef an address, which Deak had drafted, announcing that none of the Emperor's

proposals would even be considered by the Hungarian Parliament until its demands were conceded. This firm reply evoked a despotic rejoinder, for which Belcredi was no doubt responsible. The Emperor issued a decree making military service compulsory in Hungary.

A storm of anger swept through Hungary, and Deak had the greatest difficulty in preventing an insurrection. He realised that the crisis had come, but he succeeded in getting Parliament to make one further effort to convince the Emperor by reason. A deputation was sent with Hungary's "Last Word," demanding in stern language the cancelling of the decree.

To its surprise, the Emperor replied to the deputation that he had already decided to cancel the Army Law and that he intended forthwith to establish a responsible Hungarian Ministry. In February, 1867, the Emperor dismissed Belcredi and appointed Beust as his successor, and on the same date he summoned Deak to Vienna and pledged his word to concede all that had been demanded.

Four days later, Julius Andrassy, who had fought for Hungarian freedom in 1848, and for whose head the Austrian Government had offered several thousand crowns, was also summoned to Vienna. On reaching the Austrian capital he was informed

that the Emperor desired him to undertake the formation of a National Ministry.

On February 18, 1867, the Hungarian Parliament assembled to hear the Emperor's reply to the "Last Word." It came in the form of a Royal Rescript suspending the Conscription Law and restoring the Constitution. The prolonged cheers of the Deputies were echoed by the waiting crowds outside, and rolled through the streets, we are told, like the roar of artillery.

In the agreement signed by Deak and Beust on behalf of the Hungarian and Austrian Governments, the Emperor pledged himself to uphold the Constitution and to recognise the independence of Hungary and the right of her people alone to decide what contribution they should make to the common Army. Francis Josef, having given way, gave way handsomely. He invited all Hungarian exiles to return to share in the new freedom of their country, and allocated a presentation made him in Pesth of 100,000 ducats to the widows and orphans of the Hungarians who had been slain in the War of Independence. On June 8, 1867, when he visited Pesth to restore the Constitution, all Hungary abandoned itself to feasting and merriment.

We conclude this story of the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people for National Independence by quoting from Mr. Arthur Griffiths' tribute to

Francis Deak: a tribute paid by a leader of the Irish people in their present struggle to the leader of the Hungarian people in their similar struggle more than fifty years ago.

"Deak did not participate in the feasting and merrymaking. He was a quiet man and dislikes fuss. The Parliament of Hungary—Royalists and Republicans—voted that he should act as Palatine of Hungary—that is, Protector—and Crown Francis Josef. He declined to do so. Francis Josef anxiously asked Andrassy how he could honour Deak. 'Sire', said Andrassy, 'you have wealth, titles, offices and decorations at your disposal; you can honour other men with one or all of them—but with them you cannot honour Deak.' The King then sent Deak a photograph of himself and the Queen in a diamond-mounted frame. Deak declined to accept it; but when the King pressed him anxiously to know some way in which he could express the esteem and gratitude he felt for one who so long had been his resolute antagonist, 'Sire,' Deak replied, 'when I am dead, you can say that Francis Deak was an honest man.'"

"Deak had declined to be Prime Minister, declined to be a Member of the Cabinet. He wished to retire to his little home at Kehila—his whole fortune amounted to just £300 a year—and finish his life in the calm happiness of rural

TRIUMPH OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM 27

retirement; but his country appealed to him to remain in Parliament, and he did so with a sigh.”

“For nine years he remained a simple Member of the House, but stronger than any Minister, in it; and when he died—in 1876—his death was the occasion of an unprecedented outburst of grief. Hungary bowed herself in mourning. As his funeral passed through the streets the people knelt and wept on the pavements. By his own request his grave was made a plain one.”

“A truly great man, he was like all the truly great ones of the world: simple and unostentatious to the end. The Queen of Hungary wept tears of genuine sorrow above his coffin. The King of Hungary, whom for years he had fought foot to foot, whom he neither flattered nor failed sternly to condemn when occasion demanded, mourned with the Hungarian people when Deak died. ‘In him’ said Francis Josef, ‘we have lost our noblest and our greatest man.’”

HOW THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BETRAYED EGYPT

CHAPTER IV

THE modern Nationalist Movement in Egypt found its first expression in opposition to the Turkish Suzerainty, but about the time of its birth the British and the French Governments were increasingly intervening on behalf of the financiers of their respective countries, and the Nationalists, therefore, naturally turned their attention to this sinister development. When, in 1881, the Nationalists' Leader, Arabi, effected a *coup d' etat*, he compelled the Khedive, not only to concede a new Constitution, but to support a movement for the liberation of Egypt from all foreign control, both financial and political.

The following year, however, the Khedive, fearing the popularity of Arabi (who had become Minister of War), sought protection from the British and the French. His action was immediately challenged by the Egyptians in Alexandria, where there was an anti-foreign riot. The British Government thereupon bombarded Alexandria, landed troops and destroyed Arabi's army. Arabi was

exiled and the Nationalist Movement was temporarily suppressed.

A Liberal Government's Pledge

It was a Liberal Government under Mr. Gladstone which was responsible for these actions, but an attempt was made to give them consistency with Liberal principles by a declaration that there was no intention of establishing a British Protectorate, and by an assurance that the army would be withdrawn as soon as the state of the country and the authority of the Khedive admitted. In the meantime, the British Government would "advise" the Khedive.

Despite this promise, periodically repeated, the British Army has remained in Egypt ever since.

It is unnecessary to give in detail the story of the British occupation of Egypt, but mention must be made of Lord Cromer's term of office. He expressed sympathy with Egyptian Nationalism, but his conception of the status of the Egyptain people never passed beyond the point of subservient participation in the British administration. He did a great deal for Egypt materially. He made its finances solvent: encouraged irrigation, upon which its prosperity so largely depends, and (nominally) abolished the use of the lash and forced labour. But he flooded Egypt with English officials:

and made it clear to the more far-seeing Egyptians that there was no hope of gaining Self-Government through progressive advances within the British administration. How the administration became increasingly British rather than increasingly Egyptian is revealed by these figures :—In 1896 the number of British employed in the service of the “Egyptian” Government was 286 ; in 1906 it was 662, and to-day it is 1,671.

A “Legislative” Assembly

The Nationalist was gradually reformed, and the agitation for Self-Government renewed. After Lord Cromer’s retirement, the British Government so far yielded as to allow a “Legislative” Assembly to be formed in 1913. The Assembly, however, was given no real power. It could initiate proposals for legislation, but the Government retained the power both to refuse to sanction measures it carried and to enact laws despite its opposition. It was given the power to prevent any increase in direct taxation, but it was actually prohibited from even discussing the foreign relations of Egypt! The Assembly was composed of (i) the Ministers, (ii) 66 Members popularly elected, and (iii) 17 Members nominated by the Government to represent minorities.

Despite its limited powers, the Legislative As-

sembly was regarded by the Egyptian people as the symbol of their right to liberty. If it could not enact laws, it could at least publicly assert the Egyptian view. The Assembly only met once, however. On the outbreak of War in 1914 it was suppressed, Egypt was proclaimed a British Protectorate, Martial Law was established, and a puppet Sultan was set up in place of the Khedive Abbas, who had remained loyal to the Turkish Sultan, still Egypt's nominal suzerain.

The British Proclamation announcing the new *regime* was a moderately worded document, and only a few Egyptians appreciated how ominous it was. Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister, was promised that, if the Egyptian people did not hinder British military activities during the War, the right of the Egyptian people to Self-Government would be recognised when peace returned. The Egyptians accepted the pledge.

Egypt kept her side of this bargain, despite the provocatively oppressive British Rule. A particularly severe and ridiculous censorship of letters, telegrams, and of the Press, was instituted. In direct denial of a pledge that the Egyptians should themselves not be involved in the War, one million Egyptians (one thirteenth of the population, were enrolled under a system of virtual Conscription, and intolerable exactions of food, fodder, animals,

etc., took place. Feeling against the British administration among the mass of the Egyptian people rose very high.

How War Promises were fulfilled

Bad as the situation became during the War, it is probable, however, that a fulfilment of the promise of democratic Self-Government as soon as hostilities ceased would have renewed the confidence of the Egyptian people in Great Britain. But as in India, instead of liberty, Egypt was given still sterner oppression. The operation of Martial Law was intensified, and the responsible Egyptian representatives were treated with contempt. The Prime Minister, Rushdi Pasha, tried to go to London to confer with the Foreign Office about the future of the country, but the Government replied that it was too busy to think about Egypt. The Egyptian Ministry thereupon resigned and, since no one would take office in its place, the country was left for nearly six months without legal Government.

The Censorship prohibited the Press from alluding to the crisis, but the news spread orally, with the result that a grave wave of anti-British feeling swept through the masses of the people.

President Wilson's unqualified pronouncements in favour of Self-Determination led the Egyptian

HOW THE BRITISH BETRAYED EGYPT 33

people to concentrate their hopes upon the Peace Conference. To their amazement, Egypt was refused representation at the Conference, although the newly-created Kingdom of the Hedjaz was permitted an envoy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the feelings of bitterness and indignation which this decision aroused.

The Egyptian Leader

Meanwhile, the leader had arisen upon whom all the enthusiasm and hope of the Egyptian people have since concentrated. Saad Zaghloul Pasha was Minister of Education under Lord Cromer, and is Chancellor of the Egyptian University at Cairo. He is a man of the highest repute, and his ability, character and resolution have won the confidence of his people to an extraordinary degree. Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister, having been denied access to the British Foreign Office and the right to attend the Peace Conference, Zaghloul proceeded to take steps to organise a popular national delegation to Paris in the hope that the British Government might reconsider its decision or President Wilson insist upon its reception. He formed a Committee of Eighteen, who prepared petitions for wide circulation to obtain a mandate for the delegation. The British Government forbade the distribution of the petitions, but

two million signatures were secured before this order could be made effective. Rushdi Pasha, although in a sense superseded by Zagloul, acknowledged the authority of the delegation.

Having prevented the Egyptian people from demonstrating their support of the delegation in this way, the British Government proceeded to refuse passports to Zagloul and his three Colleagues on the ground that they had no national mandate and that the Legislative Assembly, of which Zagloul was Vice-Président, no longer existed. This decision was followed by the act which led to the rebellion of March, 1919—the deportation of the Members of the delegation to Malta.

Immediately Zagloul's deportation was known, the people rose in spontaneous revolt. Communications were cut, the British were besieged in Assiout, and two British Officers were killed in a train south of Cairo. *When the native Police were sent to quell the disturbances, they refused to act.*

The important feature of this uprising was its all-inclusiveness. Practically every Egyptian sympathised openly or secretly with it, and the Copts (native Egyptian Christians) took a prominent part. Previously the Copts and Mussulmans had been in constant conflict, but in this struggle their unity was such that the Copts were represent-

HOW THE BRITISH BETRAYED EGYPT 35

ed together with the Mussulmans upon the Zagloul delegation.

Egyptian Parallel to the Punjab

It is necessary to record that the Egyptian Nationalists make grave allegations against the conduct of a section of the British Army whilst engaged in repressing this revolt. They produce sixteen affidavits which allege the following, among other occurrences :—

Cairo.—Hundreds killed, wounded and imprisoned by British soldiers, who swept the streets with machineguns—during a peaceful demonstration of protest against the deportation of the Egyptians' leaders. A ten-year-old girl was assaulted by several soldiers until she died.

Chobak.—British soldiers pillaged town, killed 21, wounded 12, outraged women, buried 5 Egyptians to their waists and cut them to pieces, and burned 144 of the 200 houses.

El Chabanat.—Detachment of British soldiers pillaged village, burned it, and left 4,000 persons without shelter.

Azizia and Bedrechieu.—Soldiers searched both villages for arms, and burned a number of houses.

Choubra-el-Charieh and Kaffre-el-Hagga.—Alleging that a shot had been fired at an English patrol, soldier condemned all male inhabitants to

be flogged on the stomach and back (photographs were produced).

Upper Egypt.—British General decreed that every Egyptian including, high dignitaries, must salute British Officers in the Streets. Those who did not obey the order were dragged before Courts-martial.

The Nationalists demanded an inquiry into these serious charges, but the Government declined to take any action, although the demand was supported by Labour Members of the British house of Commons.

A Beginning of Non-Co-operation

We have already seen a beginning of the Non-Co-operation Movement in the refusal of any Egyptians to form a Ministry, following the resignation of Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister, when the British Foreign Office declined to confer with him on the future of Egypt. During this uprising a determination to boycott the British administration developed widely. Many Egyptians holding Official positions under the British resigned. There were extensive strikes of Government employees, and workers employed in British and European concerns, (*e.g.*, the Water and Tram Companies at Alexandria) combined a political protest with an economic one. After these strikes constantly recurred, and the students were almost permanently on strike. In

HOW THE BRITISH BETRAYED EGYPT 37

consequence it became necessary not only to maintain discipline in the Schools by Martial Law, but actually to arrange and enforce every detail of the curriculum by the same means !

The revolt in Egypt was so serious that the British Government decided after a few days to release the Members of the delegation and to allow them to proceed to Paris. Before the delegates had reached Paris, however, the British had secured from President Wilson a secret recognition of the British Protectorate over Egypt, and, during the year they stayed in Paris, the Members of the delegation failed to secure a hearing either from President Wilson or any Statesman of the Allied Governments.

The proposals put forward by the delegation were complete independence under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and the restoration of the Soudan to Egypt. They promised to safeguard the interests of foreigners by retaining the Capitulations, and made no claim on the Suez Canal.

HOW THE EGYPTIAN NATIONALISTS CON- VINCED THE MILNER MISSION

CHAPTER V

IN May, 1919, Lord Curzon announced that a Mission under Lord Milner would be sent to Egypt to prepare a Constitution under the British Protectorate. The announcement was received in Egypt with derision, and the Nationalist Movement immediately decided to boycott the Mission. Lord Milner and his Colleagues spent three months in Egypt, employing every device to secure the Co-operation of the Egyptian people, and they returned to England without a representative Egyptian having consulted with them. Never in history has a nation revealed more united determination.

The intensity of feeling was revealed in many ways. The Members of the Egyptian Bar stopped work for a week in protest against the coming of the delegation. There was a remarkable three weeks' strike of the Egyptian Officials in all the Public Departments. Workers of every grade struck, and even the boys and girls in the Schools stopped work. Finally, the Ministry joined the strike movement and resigned.

The Boycott of the Mission

For a time, the Mission sat isolated at the Semiramis Hotel, surrounded by armoured cars and aeroplanes, vainly sending forth invitations to innumerable Egyptians to give evidence. The boycott was so complete that Lord Milner was compelled to issue a proclamation couched in the most conciliatory terms. "All opinions may be freely expressed to the Mission," read the proclamation. "There is no wish to restrict the area of discussion, nor need any man fear that he will compromise his convictions by appearing before it. He will, on the contrary, be no more compromised by expressing his opinions than the Mission will be compromised by hearing them. Without a perfectly frank discussion it will be difficult to put an end to misunderstanding and arrive at an agreement."

The Nationalists replied, expressing appreciation of the intention to widen the field of discussion, but declared that they could only open negotiations when their demand for complete independence was conceded. The boycott continued unbroken.

The Part Played by the Students

A feature of the boycott was the part played by the Students. They organised processions through

the Streets, assisted in the organisation of strikes, urged shopkeepers to close their shops, and picketed the Semiramis Hotel. Sir Owen Thomas, a Member of the Mission, complained that they had no opportunity of learning the views of the fellaheen. "Always a band of Students," he said, "motored in advance of any Member of the Mission who attempted to get into touch, or direct communication with, the fellaheen to warn them what to say and what not to say." The strikes among the School-boys and Students became so frequent that the authorities had to issue an order stating that "Schoolboys and Students who do not abstain from turbulent political demonstrations and strikes will not be allowed to sit for this Winter's Examinations."

The Women's Part

The Egyptian women threw themselves into the Nationalist Movement with remarkable zeal. The following passages are quoted from an article by Sir Valentine Chirol, who is, of course, a notoriously unsympathetic observer, in the *Times* (January 2, 1920):—

"In the stormy days of March and April last, they descended in large bodies into the streets, those of the more respectable classes still veiled and shrouded in their loose black cloaks, the

courtesans from the lowest quarters of the City, who had also caught the contagion, unveiled and arrayed in less discreet garments. In every turbulent demonstration women were well to the front. They marched in procession, some on foot, some in carriages, shouting for "Independence" and "Down with the English," and waving National banners. They flocked to the houses of the Extremist Leaders, and Mme. Zagloul Pasha and others addressed impassioned orations to them from the windows.

"They followed in large crowds the coffins of the rioters killed in the street affrays, and rent the air with their shrill lamentations. They took a hand in the building of barricades, and though they generally dispersed when fighting actually began, some of them, it was noted, returned to gloat over brutal deeds of violence perpetrated by the men.

"When the Government Officials went on strike, small groups of women acted as pickets outside the gates of the Ministries to hold up those who wanted to return to their duties. In the fellaheen rising the women, embittered, perhaps, by the hardships they had suffered through ruthless requisitions of war supplies and to arbitrary recruitment for the labour corps in their villages, 'by order of the British Government,' as they were told, joined with the men in tearing up the Railway lines and

destroying the Telegraphs, and in pillaging and burning, which took place up and down the countryside.

"Women have been equally prominent in all the noisy demonstrations of the last two months against the Milner Mission, one of their favourite devices being to take possession of the Tramway Cars at some terminus and drive through the City, without, of course, paying any fares, yelling "Down with Milner" and other patriotic amenities, and flaunting little paper flags in the faces of any Europeans who venture to claim their right to travel in public conveyances.

"What is more serious is that the infection has spread into the Girls' Schools and like the Boys' Schools they go on strike to mark their disapproval of Lord Milner and his Colleagues, and children of of 11 and 12 concoct passionate telegrams of protest to the Minister of Education, and even to the Prime Minister. Members of the Cabinet themselves complain bitterly that they cannot restrain their own daughters. The girls are, indeed, more violent than the boys. . . . It would be wrong to make light of the widespread bitterness that underlies this feminine upheaval. For the women of Egypt, though they may be politically powerless, reflect, perhaps in an exaggerated, but none the less alarming, form, the general uprising

against authority produced by the Extremist campaign against the British 'usurpers.' "

The incidents described above were characteristic of the general revolt of the entire people against the British Rule. The Provincial Councils, which, like the Legislative Assembly, were supposed to have been dissolved, met on their own initiative and passed strong resolutions condemning the Milner Mission and the Protectorate, supporting the Zaghloul delegation, and asserting independence. The Omdehs, the Official headmen of Egyptian villages, issued similar pronouncements. The authorities of El Azhar, the great Mahomedan Institution, of which the Sultan is the titular head, issued a Manifesto setting forth the claims of the Egyptian Nation to complete independence, and the Princes of the Sultan's own family boldly endorsed the Nationalist Programme. Finally, the elected Members of the suppressed Legislative Assembly (a large majority of the whole body) met and declared Egypt an independent Nation.

The Misson Goes Away

The Milner Mission returned to England in March, 1920, without succeeding in breaking the circle of silence around it. Arrived in London, Lord Milner and his Colleagues had the sense to make a direct appeal to Zaghloul and his delegation:

to Zagloul, to whom the British Government had before denied passports as unrepresentative: to Zagloul, whom it had interned and deported: to Zagloul, whom it had refused to see when finally he was permitted to proceed to Paris!

The Zagloul delegation agreed to negotiate with the Mission in London, on the strict understanding that it insisted upon the independence of Egypt. After discussions, continuing for two months, a report was prepared which the Mission promised to submit to the British Government, and which the Zagloul delegation promised to submit to the Egyptian people. The report withdraws the British Protectorate and acknowledges the independence of Egypt, but safe guards British interests in the Suez Canal, and from the military point of view. These restrictions have been severely criticised by the Egyptians, but on the whole, the report has been accepted by them, with certain minor qualifications. It now appears doubtful, however, whether the British Government will endorse the Milner Mission's findings.

It remains to be seen whether the Egyptian Nationalist Movement has won victory, or whether the Egyptian people will have to demonstrate their determination and solidarity to a greater degree even than that they have already shown.

HOW JAPANESE IMPERIALISM STOLE KOREA *

CHAPTER VI

THE Japanese Government has thrown greedy eyes upon Korea for centuries, and has made repeated efforts to conquer it. Hidejoshi, the famous Japanese Regent, made such an effort in 1852. The Koreans appealed to China (who from early times exercised a slight Protectorate over Korea) and the Japanese were driven back. But they left a ruined country behind them.

In 1876 the Koreans came into conflict with the Japanese Government owing to the fact that some Japanese citizens had been killed when attempting to enter Korea. To prevent war the Korean Government agreed to open several ports to Japanese trade. In the treaty making this arrangement the Japanese went out of their way to affirm the independence of Korea, in order to challenge the Chinese Protectorate. But Japan was so weak at this time that the Chinese Government ignored the issue.

* This story of the struggle of the Korean people is for the most part based upon Mr. F. A. Machenzie's, "Korea's Fight for Freedom."

The Pledge of a Great Power

This treaty admitting Japanese trade was followed by similar treaties with America (1882) and Britain (1883). One clause in the American Treaty, it should be noted, pledged the American Government to exert good offices "if other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively" with Korea. There was a good deal of popular feeling against the admission of foreigners, and, when there was a severe famine in 1881, the people ascribed it to the wrath of the Gods, attacked the Japanese Legation, and killed a number of Japanese. The Japanese Minister and his guard only succeeded in fighting their way to the coast with difficulty.

Loud demands for war arose in Japan, but the Korean Government agreed to pay an indemnity of 400,000 yen and granted further trading privilege to the Japanese. The Chinese Government also intervened sending 10,000 troops to Seoul, the Korean capital, and deporting the Regent who had led the anti-foreign agitation.

The Japanese from this moment contrived in all possible ways to strengthen their hold upon Korea. They plotted a conspiracy through some young Koreans who had been trained as military officers in Japan. The plot failed, the Japanese Legation was again attacked, and again the Minister had to

fly. The cry for war once more arose in Japan, but the Government knew that war with Korea meant war with China, and for that it was not ready.

Japan Strikes when Prepared

By 1885 the Japanese were prepared. They began their "offensive" under cover of a treaty. They entered into an agreement with China that both countries should withdraw their troops from Korea and send no more without giving notice. Then the Chinese troops having left, they organised a rebel army of Koreans.

The Chinese gave notice that they were sending troops to assist the Korean Emperor to put down the rebels. The Japanese thereupon poured 10,000 troops into Seoul, and the Japanese Minister demanded of the Emperor that he should renounce the Chinese suzerainty, make big economic concessions, including Railway rights and the monopoly of gold-mining, and that he should give three days' notice to the Chinese troops to withdraw from the land. Declaration of war between China and Japan followed.

The Japanese took possession of Seoul and compelled the Emperor to sign a treaty declaring Korea independent of China and insisting upon the exclusion of Chinese troops. Japan then sent

no less than fifty advisers to the Korean Government, assumed control of the land, and, when victory had been gained over China, demanded a monopoly of all the trade of Korea.

The Emperor, at the instance of the Queen attempted to resist the Japanese pretensions. Thereupon the Japanese organised another conspiracy, their troops leading an attack upon the palace which resulted in the murder of the Queen. The Emperor was made a prisoner, and the Regent, who, as was to be expected had returned from his Chinese prison favourable to Japan, was appointed Prime Minister.

Japan's New Rival : Russia

With the eclipse of China a new rival to Japan arose : Russia. Despite the Japanese Guards, the Emperor escaped from his palace to the Russian Legation, and popular feeling in Korea was so strong that the Japanese, not yet prepared to challenge Russia had to acquiesce in the revival of Korean power.

In 1896 an agreement was reached between the Russians, the Japanese and the Koreans by which the Emperor returned to his own palace and the Japanese Government undertook to restrain the conduct of its subjects in Korea. Both Russia and Japan undertook to leave to Korea the maintenance of her army and police.

It must be admitted that the ruling class in Korea did not make good use of the opportunity it now had to develop a self-governing administration. Corruption was rife. Philip Jaisohn, who had led the students' conspiracy of 1884, and had in consequence been in exile in America since, returned to take up a post under the Government, but he soon found that he could not usefully serve his nation thus. He therefore resigned, and in a private capacity began a big educational campaign with the object of developing a true nationalism and fitting her people for the duties of self-government.

The Independence Club

He started two papers, and an institution which became of historic importance—the Independence Club. His papers exposed the corruption in Government circles and stood for a high idealism in public life. His club attained a membership of nearly 10,000 within three months. The club, which carried on a remarkable educational work by means of public debates, was unpopular, not only among Korean officials, but among the Russians and the Japanese. They did not want Korea to prove herself worthy of self-government.

The Independence Club won a notable victory when the Korean Government decided to hand over

the training of the national troops to Russia. Its ten thousand members assembled in front of the palace and petitioned the Emperor to cancel the agreement. The Emperor attempted to temporise, but the crowd refused to move until Russian officers were asked to withdraw.

In 1898 Dr. Jaisohn returned to America, but his work was carried on by Syngman Rhee, afterwards the President of the Republic which the Koreans declared established in 1919. He led the Independents in demanding the abolition of foreign control, greater care in granting foreign concessions, the public trial of political offenders, honesty in State finance, and a popular representative assembly. Great meetings of the people were held, and even the women came out of their traditional retirement and joined in the movement.

The Emperor commanded the dissolution of the club. The Independents responded by going *en bloc* to the police headquarters and asked to be arrested. It was obviously impossible to arrest all the members, but seventeen of their leaders were imprisoned. Such large and angry demonstration took place, however, that after five days they were released and reforms were promised. But as soon as the people had returned to their homes, no more was heard of the reforms.

When the Independents and their supporters

found that they had been misled, the demonstrations were renewed. The Police were ordered to attack the crowds with their swords, *but they refused to obey, throwing down their badges and saying that the cause of the people was theirs.* The soldiers were then called upon to break up the demonstrations; they did so—only to find, next day, that thousands of men had seated themselves before the palace, where they remained for fourteen days and nights. This is an old Korean method of expressing the popular will, and a very effective method, too.

Torture of the Nationalist Leader

After a fortnight the Emperor received the Leaders of the Independents and agreed to their demands—the maintenance of the national integrity, and the fulfilment of the promised reforms. The people dispersed triumphantly, but, as so often happens, they cheered too soon. Division was created in their ranks; some of the Independents indulged in extreme language and were arrested: meetings were dispersed at the point of the bayonet: and the reform movement was broken. Among those imprisoned was Syngman Rhee. For seven months he lay in his cell fastened to the ground, with his feet in stocks and his hands in chains. He was tortured to such a degree that, when he was informed one night that he was to be executed,

he rejoiced in the expectation of the end of his misery. By mistake the man next to Rhee was taken, and Rhee was released in 1904, after six years' imprisonment. He subsequently went to America, graduating as a Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

War Between Japan & Russia

The Russian and the Japanese continued to manoeuvre against each other to secure control of Korea. When the Russians leased the Liaotung Peninsula from China, she signed an agreement with Japan which whilst recognising the independence of Korea, acknowledged Japan's supreme economic interests there, and the Russian Financial Adviser and other Russian officials were withdrawn from Seoul. After a time, however, Russia sought to regain her influence. She sent to Seoul an astute and ingratiating Minister, M. Ravloff. The Korean Prime Minister sided with the Russians, and Japan, seizing the opportunity for which she had been waiting, declared war upon Russia. With lightning rapidity the Japanese sank the Russian ships on the coast, captured the Emperor's palace, and overran the country. From this moment Korean independence was over in fact, if not in name, and Japan had realised her ambition of many centuries.

THE ANSWER THE PEACE CONFERENCE GAVE TO KOREA

CHAPTER VII

THE treaty which Japan made Korean Emperor sign still paid lip-service to the independence and territorial integrity of the country, but it required the Korean Government to follow Japan's advice and to give her every facility for her military operations against Russia. The Japanese at first acted with moderation, but, as they triumphed and became less dependent upon the good-will of the Koreans, they applied the tyrant's hand with increasing harshness.

They substituted Japanese advisers for Korea's foreign advisers. They commandeered the Postal and Telegraphic services. Japanese gendarmes were introduced. No one was permitted to organise a Political Society without the consent of the Japanese, all Political Documents had to be submitted to a Censor, and Koreans who protested against Japanese Autocracy were either imprisoned or exiled. The country was flooded with Japanese coolies, who were placed outside the reach of Korean Law, so that they were able to steal, flog, and murder without restriction. The names of the

towns were changed from Korean to Japanese. Martial Law was introduced, and, under pretence of military necessity, great strips of land were commandeered along the Railway at one-twentieth of the real value.

The Japanese sold much of this land to Japanese builders and shopkeepers, and Japanese settlements were developed. When, however, the Japanese attempted to take possession of two-thirds of the land, the popular indignation was so extensive that they decided temporarily to abandon the scheme.

Korean Emperor Stands Out

Politically, however, there was no modification of Japanese aggression. In November, 1905, Marquis Ito proceeded to present a series of demands to the Emperor transferring all matters relating to foreign affairs to Japan, and placing the administration of Korea in the hands of the Japanese Minister and Consuls. The Emperor declined to accept those demands, saying that he would rather die, but, after much threatening, the Cabinet agreed to do so.

The news of the treaty was received by the people with bitter indignation. Many of the most influential Koreans, including all the surviving Prime Ministers, and led by the former Minister for War, urged the Emperor, to repudiate the treaty. Whilst maintaininig that he had not signed it, he

dared not disclaim it ; whereupon the leader of the deputation and many members of it returned to their homes and committed suicide.

America Breaks Her Pledge

The Emperor sent a special representative to enlist the services of President Roosevelt, in accordance with the treaty of 1882, but the President declined to see him. "To be sure by treaty it was solemnly covenanted that Korea should remain independent," the President said afterwards, "but it was out of the question to suppose that any other Nation would do for the Koreans what they were utterly unable to do for themselves."

At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War practically every foreigner sympathised with Japan, but steadily their sympathies became alienated. One young English Journalist, Mr. Bethell, Editor of the *Korean Daily News*, boldly attacked the Japanese tyranny. He was imprisoned and died shortly after his release. The people of Korea cherish his name as that of one of their great heroes.

The Emperor continued to refuse to sign the treaty of 1905, and the Japanese made him a prisoner for all practical purposes. He still hoped that one of the Great Powers would intervene, and in 1907 sent an Ambassador to the Hague Conference. The Ambassador was refused a hearing !

The Japanese then deposed the Emperor, substituting his weak-willed son, and insisted upon the acceptance of a new agreement, giving the Japanese Resident-General the veto over all legislation, placing the appointment of all administrative Officials in his hands, and prohibiting the engagement of any foreigner in the service of the Korean Government.

A Reign of Terror

In 1909 Prince Ito was assassinated by a Korean, and General Count Terauchi, who became Resident-General, instituted a military dictatorship of the severest character. The gendarmerie were again substituted for the civic Police, arrests took place daily, papers were suppressed and, finally, Korea was officially annexed. The Resident-General was converted into a Governor-General; henceforth Korea was to be a province of Japan. The feelings of the Koreans were so outraged by this culminating act of despotism that man after man committed suicide. "Why should we live when our land is dead?" they asked.

The Reign of Terror instituted by Terauchi is illustrated by the fact that in 1916-1917 according to Official figures, 82,121 Koreans were punished by the Gendarmerie and Police without trial. Not only boys and able-bodied men, but women and

old men were flogged. Mr. F. A Mackenzie records that in the disturbances of 1919 Koreans were dragged from hospitals in Seoul and flogged, despite the protests of Doctors and Nurses.

The best evidence of the intolerable conditions which existed in Korea is to be found in the Emigration figures. Seventy-five thousand Koreans emigrated annually to Manchuria. How bitter must have been the experience which drove them from their homes is proved by the willingness with which they faced hunger, exposure and death !

The Rev. W. C. Cook, of the Christian College at Monkden, describes the pitiful journey over the icy mountains and the hard conditions which met them. Hundreds died from starvation. Not only women and children, but young men were frozen to death.

"Women with insufficient clothing, and parts of their bodies exposed, carry little children on their backs, thus creating a mutual warmth in a slight degree," says Mr. Cook, "but it is in this way that the little ones' feet, sticking out from the breeding basket get frozen and afterwards fester till the tiny toes stick together. Old men and women, with bent backs and wrinkled faces, walk the uncomplaining miles, until their old limbs refuse to carry them further."

How sharp must have been the spur which drove

thousands of Koreans to face such an ordeal each year!

Some of the more militant Koreans determined to resist the Japanese despotism by force of arms. A "Righteous Army" was organised in the mountainous Districts, and for a long time the Japanese were unable to cope with it. The Koreans would descend on groups of Japanese, attack and defeat them, and then retire to the mountains. This guerilla policy led to stern reprisals, the Japanese burning villages, shooting men, and outraging women. In one village the Japanese gathered all the Christian men into a church, set fire to it, and then shot all who attempted to escape.

Confession by Torture

An extraordinary feature of the Korean Movement for independence is its close connection with the Christian Church. From the first, the Japanese persecuted the Christians, with the result that most of the Korean Christian Leaders became enthusiastic workers in the Nationalist Movement. General Terauchi in 1911 planned an extensive coup against the Christians. Wholesale arrests of Christian preachers and teachers were made, and eventually 147 prisoners were sent to Seoul to be tried. Three died in prison (probably as the result of torture), 23 were released or exiled, and 123 were charged with

conspiracy to murder the Governor-General. The most conspicuous of the prisoners was Baron Yun Chi-ho, ex-Under secretary for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Y.M.C.A.

The case for the prosecution was based on the confessions of the prisoners, but when charged in Court they arose, one after the other, and declared that the confessions had been wrung from them by torture. Six of the prisoners, including Baron Yun Chi-ho, were sentenced to ten years, penal servitude, 18 to seven years', 40 to six years', 42 to five years', and 17 were discharged. The prisoners were denied all opportunity to describe the tortures which had been practised upon them, and the report of the trial aroused so much indignation in America and elsewhere that the Japanese Government gave instructions that the case should be conducted in the Court of Appeal in an entirely different way.

The prisoners were permitted to speak freely. One of them told how the Police stripped him naked, tied his hands behind his back, and hung him up in a doorway. When he lost consciousness he was taken down and given water, then he was tortured again as soon as he recovered. One evening he was told that he would be released if he would confess, and that if he did not do so he would be tortured until he died. He was shown

But the Nationalist Leaders did not advocate the meek acceptance of tyranny. They had an alternative method of resistance.

HOW THE KOREANS DECLARED AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC

CHAPTER VIII

ALMOST immediately following the coming of the news that the Paris Peace Conference had refused to receive the Korean delegate, it was announced that the old Emperor had died. It was rumoured that he had committed suicide to prevent his son from marrying a Japanese Princess, an old Korean custom requiring that a marriage should not take place within three years of the death of a parent, and preparations were made to honour the funeral on a National scale. "Whom are we now to recognise as our rightful ruler?" asked the people. The Nationalist Leaders decided to reply by boldly declaring a Republic.

They prepared a Declaration of Independence and secretly sent copies to trusted men in every town and village. They gave instructions that great demonstrations should be held throughout the country on the day of the funeral, at which the Declaration should be read. They had thousands of copies printed, and organised the school-children to distribute them everywhere as soon as the demonstrations were over. Every detail was planned.

Then the Japanese prohibited any meeting being held on the day of the funeral. They were suspicious that some development was occurring, but what they knew not. The Nationalist Leaders responded swiftly by expediting the demonstrations from the Monday to the Saturday. The Japanese were left entirely ignorant of the new arrangement.

How the Republic was Announced

The manner in which the ultimatum contained in the Declaration of Independence presented to the Japanese authorities was unique in its cool daring. The thirty-three Nationalist Leaders who signed the Declaration invited the most prominent Japanese Officials to dine with them. The meal concluded, they produced the Declaration and read it to their astounded guests ; then they telephoned the Central Police Station, informed the incredulous Superintendent of what they had done, and said that they would await the coming of the Police van. Pastor Kil arrived at the dinner late. Finding that his comrades had already been removed, he hurried to the Police Station to take his place by their side. The van had preceded him through streets crowded with people shouting "Mansei!" Korean flags—the penalty for the possession of which was death—were on every building, were in everyone's hands. The Japanese taken wholly by surprise

were stupified into inaction. Surely this deserves to rank among the classic stories of human history!

The Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence was written with the nobility natural to the expression of brave men leading a great cause. The passages given here will illustrate its high and dignified tone.

"We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all Nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right.

We make this Proclamation with 5,000 years of history and twenty millions of united people behind us. We take this step to ensure to our children, for all time to come, freedom in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principle of the present age, the just claim of the whole human race. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed, by any means.

After long thousands of years of National independence, just as humanity was passing on to the new era, we became victims of the older age, in which brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled.

For ten years we have experienced the agony of foreign oppression, with the loss of every right to live, with every restriction of the freedom of thought, with every outrage done to the dignity of life, with every opportunity lost for a share in the advancing intelligence of the age in which we live.

Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to cease, if future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if liberty to act is to be recognised, if we are to attain any progress, if we are to deliver our children, from the painful, shameful heritage of bondage, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us—the first of all necessary things is the full independence of our people. What cannot our twenty million people do, every man with firm resolve in his heart, in this day when the human conscience is stretching out to truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

We have no wish to speak of Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt of our civilisation or the despotic principles on which her State rests; we who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend precious time in finding fault with others; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over

what is past and gone. Our urgent need to-day is the setting up of our house, not [a discussion as to who broke it down, or what caused its ruin. . Our work is to clear the future of all evils in accord with the earnest dictates of consciousness. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force, running counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change, and act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

The result of annexation is . . . to dig a trench of lasting resentment deeper and deeper, the farther the Japanese go along the road of tyranny. Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be to correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere, and by [true sympathy and friendly feeling make a new world in which the two peoples will be equally blessed? To-day Korean Independence will mean not only life and happiness for us, but the departure of Japan from an evil way, and her exaltation to the place of true Protectors of the East, so that China, too, will put all fear of Japan aside. The thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

A new era wakes before our eyes. The old world

of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arise this light on life's affairs. It is the day of the restoration of all things, it is on the full tide of this day that we set forth, without delay or fear. . . . We awake now from the old-world with its darkened conditions, in full determination and one heart, and one mind, with right on our side, to a new life. Nature, stifled by the frost and snow of winter, awakes at this moment in response to the breezes of the spring and the soft light of the Sun. We awake with it. May all our ancestors, for thousands of generations, aid us from within, may all the best forces of the world aid us from without, and may the day of our decision be the day of our attainment. In this hope we go forward."

At the foot of the Declaration of Independence three "items of agreement" were given, as follows:—

1. This work of ours is on behalf of truth, religion and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to anyone.

2. Let those who follow us, every man, all the time, every hour, show forth with gladness this same mind.

3. Let all things be done decently and in order

so that our behaviour to the very end may be honourable and upright.

A Day of National Jubilation

The Declaration of Independence was read simultaneously to great meetings of the people in every town and village of Korea. The day was celebrated everywhere as the inauguration of a new era. The shops were closed, the women came out of their homes and joined in the jubilation. Policemen who had been in the Japanese service threw off their uniforms and declared their allegiance to the Republic. Every section of the people were united.

The most impressive feature of this National demonstration was the restraint of the people. There was no suggestion of riot; not a single act of violence is recorded. As we have seen, the first Proclamation issued by the Nationalist Leaders counselled the Koreans to refrain from acts of destruction. Five days later, those who had taken the place of the imprisoned Leaders issued a second Proclamation congratulating the people upon their dignified bearing and calling on them to maintain the same attitude. "He who commits violence," said the Proclamation, "is an enemy of his country and will most seriously injure the cause."

THE KOREAN REPUBLIC AND THE JAPANESE TERROR

CHAPTER IX

THE day following the Declaration of Korean Independence was Sunday, and the Christians observed it strictly. The Japanese took advantage of the cessation of the political demonstrations to prepare plans for the suppression of the Movement. Instructions were issued that every gathering of people was to be dispersed, and every person who took part in a demonstration arrested. The Japanese soldiers were provided with clubs and swords, and were authorised to attack any Korean suspected of being engaged in Independence activity.

As a result of this *carte blanche* some cruel outrages occurred. Mr. F. A. Mackenzie tells, for instance, of how an unarmed man was pushed into the deep gutter by the roadside in Seoul, following the dispersing of a small crowd, and how the Japanese Police cut off his ears, slit his fingers, hacked his body, and left him for dead. He was carried off by some horrified spectators, and in fact died a few hours later. Mr. Mackenzie states that when he showed a photograph of the mutilated body to three friends in New York, they

declared the next day that they had been unable to sleep all night because of the thought of it.

Despite the Japanese terrorism the demonstrations continued. On the Wednesday the Japanese ordered normal life to be resumed. The Schools were reopened, but there were no Scholars. The shopkeepers were ordered to open their shops. They kept them closed. The Japanese Police called upon the shopkeepers; and opened the shops whilst the Police were present; and closed them again as soon as they were out of sight. Then the Japanese sent soldiers to stand on guard outside the shops and insist upon them being opened. The shopkeepers stood passive, but invariably informed any customer that they had not the required article. This state of affairs, says Mr. Mackenzie, continued for some weeks.

The Children's Strike

The children in the Schools sturdily maintained their strike. The Japanese attempted to coax the boys back to School by announcing that they would not receive their Certificates unless they returned. The boys at Seoul apparently yielded, and the ceremony opened in the presence of a number of distinguished Japanese. At its conclusion the head boy, a lad of thirteen years of age, came to the front to deliver the School speech.

strip and beat the girls who took part in the demonstrations, and to expose them naked to as many of their countrymen as possible. The girls sewed special garments on themselves, which could not be so easily removed, but in vain. It is impossible to describe what was done to many of them. In addition to unofficial excesses and outrages, many girls were beaten and tortured in order to obtain confessions. Those who were sent to prison had to remain hour after hour in a kneeling position as part of the regular routine. At Tong-Chun the stories of the cruelties practised upon the women prisoners caused a crowd to gather outside the Police Station. With great difficulty the Christian Leader dissuaded the people from making a violent attack, and persuaded them to send in a deputation. The Chief of Police explained to its Members that the stripping of women was permitted by Japanese Law.

Whilst the deputation was discussing the matter inside the Police Station, the crowd outside became very angry. "Put us in prison, too, or release the women," they cried, and finally the Chief of Police agreed to release all but four of the prisoners. One young woman had been so badly kicked by the Police that she had to be supported on either side. The wife of a Christian teacher had to be carried on a man's back. A witness of the scene

writes :—"As they saw the women being brought out in this condition, a wave of pity swept over the whole crowd, and with one accord they burst into tears and sobbed. Some of them cried out, "It is better to die than to live under such savages" and many urged that they should attack the Chief of Police, strip him, and beat him to death. But the Christian elder and wise heads prevailed, kept the people from any acts of violence, and finally got them to disperse."

The Japanese authorities acted with the same severity towards Koreans of reputation and wealth as towards the masses of the people. Twenty of the best known literary men took a petition to the Governor-General, and were told to take it to the Police Office. Here they were arrested. Two of the most famous Nobles, Viscount Kim and Viscount Li, also sent a dignified petition. Viscount Kim was 85 years of age, feeble and bed-ridden. He was the head of the "Confucian College," and had always been friendly towards the Japanese, having been one of those who urged the Korean Emperor, so far back as 1866, to withdraw the edict prohibiting their admission to the country. Viscount Li was one of the most respected and moderate of the Nobles. They were both arrested; Viscount Kim was sentenced to two years' penal servitude and Viscount Li to eighteen months.

The Reign of Terror

The Japanese pursued their policy of persecution remorselessly in every part of the country. At Song Chon thirty Koreans were killed and 200 were arrested. In many places Churches were burned down and the Members of the Congregations flogged. Within a fortnight of the publication of the Declaration of Independence thousands were arrested in Seoul alone. The Japanese Official figures reveal that between March 1 and June 19 of 1919, 166,183 persons were arrested and 8,351 prosecuted. In the prisons the most frightful tortures were inflicted; ex-prisoners showed their blackened and jellied flesh in proof. An American holding a responsible position in Korea, in the course of a vivid description of the occurrences at this time, stated that personal friends of his, educated Koreans, had had parts of their bodies beaten to a pulp under Police Orders. "A few hundred yards from where I am writing," he proceeds, "the beating goes on day after day. The victims are tied down on a frame and beaten on the naked body with rods till they become unconscious. Then cold water is poured on them until they revive, when the process is repeated. It is sometimes repeated many times. Reliable information comes to me that in some cases arms and legs have been

broken. Men, women and children are shot down and bayoneted." The writer of this letter then gives a number of instances of the violation of women, and asserts that it is probably safe to say that 2,000 men, women and children, unarmed and helpless, have been put to death in seven weeks. "As for the Koreans," he says, "they are a marvel to us all. Even those of us who have known them for many years and have believed them to be capable of great things, were surprised at their self-restraint, their fortitude, their endurance, and their heroism have seldom been surpassed."

The Independents published a secret paper, the *Independence News*, and despite every effort on their part, the Japanese could not discover where it was printed. Time after time it was stated that those responsible for its publication had been arrested, but the announcement was barely published before a new edition appeared.

The state of affairs in Korea became so serious that the Governor-General was summoned to Tokyo to discuss with the Government what should be done. He returned to announce that more Japanese troops were to be sent, that severer Laws were to be enforced, and that Self-Determination was not to be applicable within the Japanese Empire. An Ordinance was published providing that any one who attempted to bring about political changes

would be liable to imprisonment for ten years. The Law was made retrospective, and people who had been arrested before its enactment were sentenced under it.

Republican Constitution Declared

On April 23, 1919, in the height of the persecution, the Koreans, with superb courage, proceeded to elect delegates from each of thirteen Provinces to draw up a Constitution for an Independent Republic. Dr. Syngman-Rhee, whose heroic part in the Independence cause has already been described, was elected the first President. (Dr. Rhee was at this time still enthusiastically serving the cause by propaganda in America.) The Provisional Constitution of the Republic declared that there should be equality—educational, industrial and political—between man and women, and that religious liberty freedom of speech, freedom of writing and publication, and the right to hold public meetings and form organisations, should be completely recognised. Corporal punishment was not to be permitted. Despite the manner in which the Koreans had been treated by the founders of the League of Nations, the Provisional Constitution declared that the Republic desired to become a Member of the League. The only reactionary item in the Constitution was a clause declaring in favour of Com-

pulsory Military Service. The following passages from the Declaration issued by the delegates their lofty unconquerable spirit:—

“We, the People of Korea, have a history of over forty-two centuries as a Self-Governing and separate State, and of special, creative civilisation. We are a peace-loving race. We claim a right to be sharers in the world’s enlightenment and contributors towards the evolution of mankind. With our distinctive and world-wide glorious past, and our healthy National spirit, we should never be made subject even by inhuman and unnatural oppression, nor could we ever be assimilated by another race; still less could we submit to materialistic subjugation by the Japanese, whose spiritual civilisation is 2,000 years behind ours.

“The world knows that Japan has violated the sworn treaties of the past, and is robbing us of the right of existence. We, however, are not discussing the wrongs done us by the Japanese in the past, nor considering their accumulated sins; but in order to guarantee our rights of existence, to extend liberty and equality, to safeguard righteousness and humanity, to maintain the peace of the Orient, and to promote the welfare of the whole world, we do claim the Independence of Korea.

“Can it be that the conscience of mankind will calmly witness the cruel atrocities visited upon us

here. Sinn Fein has often been regarded as a merely destructive Movement, the embodiment of violence and bloodshed, attempting to gain its end by terrorism. It is very different from that. Mr. Griffith's outline reveals how constructive, both, in spirit and policy, the Movement is.

The Sinn Fein policy was built up on the Local Governing Bodies—the County Councils, the Urban and Rural Councils, the Poor Law Boards, and the Harbour Boards. The first step, Mr. Griffith urged, was the capture of these bodies by the election of Sinn Fein majorities. Thus Sinn Fein hoped to gain control of the administrative machine.

An Irish National Assembly

Upon this foundation was to be built as a super-structure a National Assembly of Three hundred Members, composed of representatives of the Local Governing Bodies and of "persons elected for Irish (Parliamentary) Constituencies, who decline to confer on the affairs of Ireland with foreigners in a foreign City." This Assembly was "to sit in Dublin and to form a *de facto* Irish Parliament." In his original scheme Mr. Griffith apparently thought that this Parliament and the Local Bodies acknowledging its authority could function quite legally. It would appoint Committees to consider all questions of importance, and would then work

out schemes for the Local Governing Bodies' to apply. "It would be the duty of all County and Urban Councils, Rural Councils, Poor Law Boards, and other Bodies," said Mr. Griffith, "to give legal effect to these schemes so far as their powers permit, and, where these legal powers fell short, to give the moral force of law by instructing and inducing those whom they represent to honour and obey the recommendations of the Council of Three Hundred, individually and collectively. Over all the departments of our National life to which I have referred this Council of Three Hundred should be the directing authority." Mr. Griffith urged that the Local Councils could raise a revenue of six and a half millions through the rates and spend it by the direction of this National Assembly of Three Hundred. He illustrated how the scheme would operate in this way: "When the Council of Three Hundred meets in Dublin, it is proposed, let us say, that a certain fixed sum be devoted in that year in every part of Ireland to the physical training of the people and their instruction in Irish history; whereupon every Country Council in Ireland levies the rate and allocates the portion as directed. Thus uniformity of action and work is attained, and without in one iota infringing the British Law, the recommendation--for these Resolutions or Acts of the Council

go forth as recommendations—is given the force and status of law.”

“Our policy, in a word,” continued Mr. Griffith, “is to lead our people to reliance in themselves, and to establish in Ireland’s capital a National Legislature endowed with the moral authority of the Irish Nation.”

Sinn Fein Education Plans

Around this central structure of policy Mr. Arthur Griffith constructed many others. We will consider, first, his Educational Programme.

He pointed out that the English Educational System is denationalising : it exalts British Imperialism and decries Irish Nationalism. Mr. Griffith urged that the Irish people should establish their own Primary Education System by founding Voluntary Schools, to be supported in part by the contributions of the parents of the Scholars and in part by a National Education Fund subscribed by the Irish people throughout the world. “We cannot at once afford to withdraw in a mass the school-going children, of Ireland from the National Schools,” said Mr. Griffith. “If we did so at present, we have no sufficient resources at hand to cope with the Educational crisis that would be created.” The first necessity was for Irishmen to organise their own Irish Educational System ; then

they could, "order a School Strike, and replace the present system by one which shall teach the Irish child to glory in his country and desire to serve her."

So far as Secondary Education was concerned, Mr. Griffith urged that the Irish Christian Brothers (a Catholic organisation which largely controls the present system) should throw over the Intermediate Board (an Official body through which British grants were made) and substitute a system devised in consultation with the Gaelic League and other Irish Educationists. "To substitute a Nationalising System of Education for the Denationalising System now in operation," said Mr. Griffith, "rests with ourselves, not with the British Legislature."

Mr. Griffith further suggested that the County Councils should levy rates of 1 d. in the £ for Technical Instruction and for Libraries, and that this revenue should be expended by the direction of the Council of Three Hundred in encouraging crafts and in establishing National Libraries, Museums and Gymnasiums.

Mr. Griffith strongly criticised the methods of the existing Boards of Poor Law Guardians in expending Irish money in impoverishing Ireland by organising emigration and by purchasing foreign goods—clothes and food—for the relief of the poor. He

urged that a Conference of Guardians should be held to draw up a scale of requirements and to agree to use Irish goods only. He pointed out how increased employment would result from this policy, and consequently less poverty. He advocated the development of afforestation and land reclamation to meet the needs of the unemployed. "Twenty-four percent. of the soil of this country awaits the plough or the tree," he said, "and meanwhile the people of the country are annually mulcted in millions to keep in soul-destroying prisons (the workhouses) those who could carry out the work." He also advocated the development of the Canal System by the County Councils, as a means both of improving transport facilities and providing employment. Mr. Griffith proposed that the 4,000 Officials of the Poor Law Boards and the 2,000 Officials of the Urban Councils and County Councils should become the nucleus of an Irish National Civil Service, and that Irishmen should withdraw from the British Civil Service (in which very many of them held important positions) and associate themselves in the Irish Service in the extended work it would undertake.

Revival of Irish Industry

Mr. Griffith placed great emphasis upon the revival of Irish industry. He is a disciple of Fried-

rich List, the founder of the German Zollverein, and in this first outline of Sinn Fein policy advocated protection for Irish enterprises. As immediate measures for the development of Irish industry he advocated: (1) individual use of Irish goods, (2) exclusive orders for Irish goods by the Local Governing Bodies, (3) imposition by the Harbour Boards of heavier port dues upon foreign manufactures, and the publication of lists of all goods imported and to whom consigned, (4) the stimulation of Irish manufactures, and (5) the concentration of Irish capital in Irish industry. Upon this last point Mr. Griffith remarked that 50 millions were lodged in English Banks and urged that they should be withdrawn and invested in Irish industry. He also proposed that Local Governing Bodies should withdraw their monies from the English Banks and establish a National Bank.

A further item in Mr. Griffith's Industrial Programme was the formation of the National Stock Exchange. He urged that the Local Governing Bodies should insist upon their brokers constituting themselves into a National Exchange,

Mr. Griffith saw the importance of extending Irish trade abroad. He advocated the establishment of a Mercantile Marine. "We have the finest naval situation and the best and safest harbours in Europe," he said. "The great marine of Norway has

been built up by its own people. There is scarcely a man in the towns and cities of Norway who is not part-owner of a ship. Instead of hoarding up their savings in Banks, the working men of Norway and the shopkeepers of Norway invest it in ships." The Irish people should do likewise, he urged.

He also proposed that the Irish should send Consular Representatives abroad. "Send Irishmen to act as Consuls in foreign countries," he advised, "instead of sending them to orate in the British Parliament, and devote a portion of the £25,000 at present expended in keeping eighty Irishmen in London to keeping about half that number of Irishmen stationed in the capitals and commercial centres of foreign countries where a market may be found for Irish produce." The National Assembly should appoint the Consuls.

Sinn Fein Courts of Arbitration

Finally, Irishmen should boycott the English Courts of Law and submit their differences to Irish Courts of Arbitration. "Eighty per cent. of the cases which are now heard in the Civil Courts of Ireland, involving the expenditure by the people of an enormous sum of money which is utilised to keep up a corrupt Judicial System, could be equally as legally decided in Voluntary Arbitration Courts at practically no expense at all."

"The policy of Sinn Fein," said Mr. Griffith in conclusion, "proposes to bring Ireland out of the corner and make her assert her existence in the world. The basis of the policy is National self-reliance. No Law and no series of Laws can make a Nation out of a people which distrusts itself. If we believe in ourselves, we shall carry this policy to victory against all the forces that may be arrayed against it. No man can offer Ireland a speedy and comfortable road to freedom. Before the goal is attained many men may have fallen and all will have suffered. We go to build up the Nation from within, and we deny the right of any but our own countrymen to shape its course. In the British Liberal as in the British Tory we see our enemy, and in those who talk of ending British misgovernment we see the helots. It is not British *misgovernment*, but British *government* in Ireland, good or bad, we stand opposed to, and in that holy opposition we seek to band all our fellow-countrymen.'

It will be seen how comprehensive and constructive was Mr. Griffith's policy of Non-Co-operation.

HOW THE IRISH ESTABLISHED A REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XI

WHEN the Sinn Fein Movement began in 1904 the mass of the Irish people were supporters of the Nationalist Party which had eighty-odd representatives in the House of Commons, and which stood for Home Rule within the British Empire, to be obtained by Constitutional methods. The growth of the Movement was steady, but at first comparatively slow. The long delay in applying the Home Rule measure introduced by the Liberal Government of 1906-1914 strengthened its ranks, but if this measure had actually been put into force in 1914 it is probable that the majority of the Irish people would have accepted it and worked it.

Ireland and the War

The coming of the War and the postponement of the Act entirely changed the situation, however. The Leaders of the Nationalist Party decided to support the British Government in the prosecution of the War, and urged Irishmen to enlist and unite whole-heartedly in the cause of the Allies. In

advising this policy the Nationalists lost the confidence of those who had previously been their keenest supporters, with the consequence that there was a great strengthening of Sinn Fein.

At Easter, 1916, there was a rebellion in Dublin. It was led by Members of the Sinn Fein Movement, and of the Extreme Labour Movement. The rebellion failed, but its failure, instead of harming the Sinn Fein cause, was made by the folly of the British Government, an instrument for advancing it. Mr. Asquith's Government, despite much protest, insisted upon shooting twelve of the rebel leaders, including Mr. Jim Connolly, the most popular Labour Representative. This severity, accompanied by the shooting without trial of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, led to a deep alienation of the Irish people from the British Government, and thousands of Irishmen broke away from the Nationalist Party, which was still advocating support of the British Government, and joined the ranks of Sinn Fein. This tendency was still further strengthened by the execution of Sir Roger Casement. Sir Roger, delivered a speech at his trial which stated the case for Irish Independence with extraordinary power and passion, and it had a profound effect in Ireland.

Even more influential in gaining support for the Sinn Fein Movement was the attempt to impose

Conscription upon Ireland. The whole Irish people (with the exception of the "Loyalists" in Ulster) united to resist this measure. The Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church joined with the Sinn Fein Leaders in urging Irishmen to refuse to be conscripted, and a one day's General Strike was declared, in which every worker outside Ulster joined. Representatives came over to England and consulted with Leaders of the No-Conscription Fellowship as to the best methods of resistance, and the most detailed plans were prepared which would have meant that practically all the manhood of Ireland would have declined to obey the calling up notices if Conscription had actually been applied. Faced by this state of affairs the Government had the wisdom not to persist in its attempt. This, and similar incidents, had the inevitable result : by the end of the War the Irish people had swung over *en masse* from the Nationalist to the Sinn Fein Party.

Sinn Fein Election Manifesto

An election has never revealed such a change of opinion in Ireland as did that of December, 1918. The Nationalist Party was reduced from over 80 to less than half a dozen Members, and seventy-three Sinn Fein Representatives were elected. The Programme upon which the Sinn Feiners fought may

be judged by the following extracts from their Manifesto :—

“By withdrawing the Irish Representation from the British Parliament, and by denying the right and opposing the will of the British Government, or any other foreign Government, to legislate for Ireland.

“By making use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by Military Service or otherwise.

“By the establishment of a Constituent Assembly comprising persons chosen by Irish Constituencies as the supreme National Authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to develop Ireland's social, political, and industrial life, for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland.

“By appealing to the Peace Conference for the establishment of Ireland as an Independent Nation.”

Republican Parliament Opened

Many of the successful Sinn Fein candidates were in prison at the time of the Election, including Mr. De Valera, the Sinn Fein Leader. Such Members as were free were summoned by the Sinn Fein Executive to meet in Dublin, and there they constituted themselves as Dail Eireann, the Parliament of Ireland. All the Irish Members were

invited to attend this gathering, but the Nationalists and Ulster Loyalists declined, of course, to participate. Just about this time De Valera succeeded in escaping from prison, and his previous election as President of the Irish Republic by the Sinn Fein Conference was endorsed unanimously by Dail Eireann, but a statement from him was read, in the course of which he said:—

“Our attitude towards the powers that maintain themselves here against the expressed will of the people shall then, in a word, be this: We shall conduct ourselves towards them in such a way as will make it clear to the world that we acknowledge no right of theirs. Such use of their laws as we shall make will be dictated solely by necessity, and only in so far as we deem for the public good.”

Dáil Eireann proceeded to act as though it were the *de jure* Government of Ireland. A bold attempt was made to carry out the policy outlined by Mr. Arthur Griffith, who had been elected Vice-President of the Republic, at the First Sinn Fein Conference.

Sinn Fein Land Policy

In Ireland there is a desperate land hunger. Owing to the fact that they have been divorced from the land, hundreds of thousands of Irishmen have

emigrated to America and other lands. Since 1846 the population has steadily declined until the last year or so, when the hopes aroused by the Sinn Fein Movement have actually resulted in an increase in the population. Dail Eireann was obviously not in a position, in view of the domination of the British Government, to do much of a practical nature to solve the land problem, but it established a fund for the purpose of providing land for the agricultural population, and showed the Irish people that had it the full power it would take effective steps to meet a need which the alien British Government had largely neglected.

Dail Eireann followed Mr. Griffith's proposal for the establishment of an Irish Consular Service in order that Ireland might have direct trading representatives in other countries. Sinn Fein Consuls were sent to the leading industrial centres of the world. It will be remembered that Mr. Griffith had advocated a big scheme of afforestation. The necessity for such a scheme had increased immensely during the War. In order to build ships to meet the submarine menace, the British authorities almost swept Ireland clean of timber during the years of 1914-18, and no provision was made for replanting. In this case, also, Dail Eireann could not do much of a practical nature immediately, but it set up a Department of Re-afforestation to work

out ways and means of dealing with the problem. Similarly, the Irish Parliament established Departments to develop Irish Fisheries, and to deal with the Housing problem.

Reviving Irish Industry

Dail Eireann further set up a National Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland, which invited experts in industry, whatever their party, to give evidence as to the best means of reviving Irish trade. This Commission did exceedingly useful work, but the British Government hampered its activities by all the means in its power, publication of its proceedings, and altogether treated it like a felonious conspiracy. Public bodies were warned to boycott it, and at Cork, on January 21, 1920, its Members were bayoneted out of the City Hall under the eyes of the Mayor and Corporation.

In accordance with Mr. Griffith's proposal, the staff employed by Dail Eireann, and, later, by the other public bodies which had Sinn Fein majorities was constituted into a National Civil Service.

Dail Eireann was suppressed by the British Government and declared an illegal Assembly, but it continued to meet secretly—at least such of its Members as were not in prison. After escaping from the hands of the British Authorities, Mr. De

Valera proceeded to America, and there he rendered great service to the Sinn Fein cause, not merely in gaining wide public support, reflected to some degree in the attitude of the Government and public bodies, but in raising a vast loan to assist Dail Eireann in its work. In Ireland the British Government did everything to prevent money being raised for the Irish Parliament. It treated all documents relating to the loan as seditious, and suppressed 20 Newspapers for publishing the Prospectus. Many persons were imprisoned for subscribing to the loan and collecting for it. The Government attempted to capture Sinn Fein Funds by a series of raids and by demanding of the principal Banks a disclosure of their source, but the Managers declined to violate the confidence of their customers.

Republican Courts of Law

Dail Eireann has also set up Courts of Law and Arbitration Courts to deal with land claims, and, in addition to its large Volunteer Army, has formed a Volunteer Police Force. The main instrument of the British Government in Ireland used to be the Royal Irish Constabulary, which is a centralised armed force under the direct control of the British Authorities. Since the beginning of 1920 the R.I.C. has not done any Police work, devoting its energies

instead to assisting the Military in the persecution of Sinn Feiners, by pointing out to them the houses which ought to be raided, and giving them particulars of prominent men and women who, in their view, should be deported. The consequence of this neglect of their ordinary duties by the British Police Force has been a somewhat extensive outbreak of offences such as burglary. Therefore a Republican Police Force was established to prevent these breaches of the Law. It has proved exceedingly effective.

The offenders are taken before Republican Police courts and are generally sentenced to some kind of useful labour until they have earned sufficient to pay back the robbery which they have committed, made appropriate reparation for other crimes. In some cases where the offence is more serious, deportation is ordered, and the prisoners are accompanied to a port and despatched abroad. It may be mentioned there that an increasing number of Members of the R.I.C. so much detest their work that hundreds of them have resigned during the last twelve months.

SINN FEIN CAPTURES THE IRISH ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER XII

IT will be remembered that Mr. Arthur Griffith's plan was not only to establish an independent Republican Parliament, but to capture the whole of the administrative machinery. The local Elections in 1920 enabled the Sinn Feiners to do this to a very large degree. Their successes were more pronounced even than in the Parliamentary Election. The Elections took place on the basis of proportional representation, so that the results can be accepted as giving an accurate reflection of the views of the people; and Republicans were returned in no less than 75 per cent. of all the contests for County Councils, District Councils, Urban Councils, Town Councils, Parish Councils, and Poor Law Guardians.

British Government not Recognised

The first act of all the Local Bodies which had Sinn Fein majorities was to acknowledge the supremacy of Dail Eireann and to decline to accept the authority of the British Government. All relations with the Local Government Board were ended.

The minutes of the proceedings of the Republican Councils were henceforth sent to the Minister for Local Government under Dail Eireann, and authority for action was always sought from the same source. The British Government retorted by declining to make grants to the Irish Local Authorities, a policy which has placed them under great difficulties, but the Irish people have in most instances been content to undergo the consequent inconvenience and suffering. In one or two cases the Local Authorities, in order to obtain the grants necessary for health and similar services, have so far submitted as to allow their account to be audited by the British Officials, but, this having been done, they have re-affirmed their allegiance to Dail Eireann. The refusal of the British Government to continue to make contributions to the Irish Local Authorities will probably lead to the Sinn Fein Movement developing its "Non-Co-operation" a stage further by the organisation of resistance to the payment of taxes to the British Government.

The Courts of Arbitration

The Sinn Fein Local Authorities have co-operated in the administration of the Republic Courts of Arbitration and Land Courts. The following passage from an article by Mr. Erskine Childers, the Irish author, will give some indication of the work

that is being done by both the Public Courts and the Land Courts :—

“Backed by the will of the people, the Republican Law Courts command increasing power and respect. The Land and Arbitration Courts, acting with courage and impartially, have facilitated peaceful transfer and suppressed with a heavy hand unlawful invasions, of property ; with the result that the dangerous virulence of the land agitation has disappeared. Both the Civil and Criminal Tribunals have been systematised with inferior Courts for Parishes and superior Courts for Districts, dealing with small and important cases respectively. Even the Unionist Newspapers bear daily witness to the despatch and efficiency with which Civil claims are dealt with and ordinary Criminal Law enforced by means of deportations, imprisonments, and fines.

“The Courts have won praise even from a Resident Magistrate on the Bench, as dispensers of equal justice among persons of all creeds, classes and politics. They owe their credit largely to the success of the Republican Police in the preservation of order and the rapid detection of crime.

“A noteworthy point is the resolute attack upon the abuse of the drink traffic, tolerated and often connived at under the old regime. Sinn Fein is a sober Movement and stands for public sobriety.

minds of millions of people, of the martyrdom of Ireland.

The Irish Labour Movement

The Irish Movement, once more with the exception of Ulster, is enthusiastically Republican, and it cooperates closely with the Sinn Fein Party. At the General Election of 1918 no Labour candidates were nominated in order that the determination of the Irish people to win Self-Determination might be unitedly demonstrated, and although the operation of proportional representation enabled Labour candidates to be run independently in the local Elections without prejudice to the common cause of Republicanism, the Sinn Fein and Labour Representatives equally recognise the authority of Dail Eireann.

The power of the Irish Labour Movement was revealed by its effectiveness in meeting the shortage of foodstuffs in Ireland during the Summer of 1920. Instructions were given to the Irish Dockers to refuse to handle foodstuffs, such as butter, eggs, and cheese, *enroute* for British markets, and the "hold-up" was so complete that an arrangement had to be made by which sufficient foodstuffs were retained in Ireland for sale at reasonable prices.

The Irish Labour Movement made an heroic

attempt to boycott Munitions and Military stores for the use of the British Army. The initiative arose from a decision by the National Union of Railwaymen not to handle goods for use by Poland against Russia. The Irish Railwaymen naturally took the view that, if they were not justified in assisting the Poles to make war on Russia, they were unjustified in assisting the British to make war on themselves. Their action was not endorsed by their Union, who, indeed, proceeded to withdraw the embargo against munitions for Poland but the Irish Railwaymen continued their struggle despite the repudiation of their Union.

The British Government retorted to the railwaymen's challenge by saying that, if the Railwaymen would not carry Military Stores, they should not carry anything. The result was that when a train arrived at the Station and Troops or Military Stores was attached to it, it was sometimes a week before it proceeded: the Engine-driver refusing to proceed further, the Military refusing to evacuate. Hundreds of Railwaymen were dismissed for pursuing the policy, and since they did not receive strike pay, they suffered severe privations. This, probably, they would have been prepared to undergo themselves as long as necessary, but the absence of means of transport also brought acute distress to the countryside, and, after a courageous resistance

of six months, they gave way. The disgrace of defeat was not theirs, but that of the British Trade Union Movement, which failed to support them as they deserved.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

BY
AUROBINDO GHOSE

"This little book, printed on good paper, in clear type and nicely bound, contains eight articles Aurobindo Ghose contributed several years ago. The publishers have rendered excellent service to the country by bringing them together; for, they lay down broad general principles on which the mental and moral and emotional training of the country's youth should be undertaken. The principles laid are all catholic and sound and reveal insight into the character of the problem to be solved."

Modern Review,

"In these essays Mr. Ghose exhibits a certain simplicity of style and directness and lucidity of expression which are conspicuous by their absence in the ponderous though packed, grandiose articles of his Synthetic Philosophical Journal the 'Arya.' Mr. Ghose views the problem of Education synthesising the best that India gives to the world of Education and the most advanced theories of western savants. Mr. Ghose's writings are always interesting, often original and often illuminating, and are something which no culture-loving and cultured person can possibly ignore."

United India and Native States.

"This is a book that should be read through and through to appreciate its worth. We have no desire to retail its contents. It is easily read as you walk through the high road or as you sit in your carriage and go your way. It is also priced cheap at one rupee per copy."

Mysore Economic Journal.

Price : Rupee ONE

Published by

TAGORE & CO., MADRAS

INDIAN INDUSTRIALISM

BY

K. V. GANAPATHI AIYAR

WITH A FOREWORD BY

HO. PROF. V. G. KALE

DEALS with all topics of importance and serves as a handbook to the Student, Economist, and Politician. It "renders considerable help in clearing up what is to many an obscure position and in focussing public opinion upon its more salient points. It has undoubtedly supplied the public much food for reflection in a compact form."

V. G. Kale.

Price : Rupee ONE

Published by

TAGORE & CO., MADRAS

11797

